The Case of the A KINGDOM STATED,

According to the Proper Intereſts of the ſeverall Parties INGAGED.

I. *Touching the* Intereſt *of the* KING *and his* Party.
II. *The* Intereſt *of the* Presbyterian Party.
III. *The* Intereſt *of the* Independent Party.
IV. *The* Intereſt *of the Citie of* LONDON.
V. *The* Intereſt *of* SCOTLAND, *not extant before now.*

A peece of rare Obſervation and Contexture; wherin all men are equally Concerned.

The ſecond *Edition*, with Addition by the Author *M. N.*

Dulce, & decorum eſt pro Patriâ.

London, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1647.

UMI

To the KING.

SIR,

AFter so many stormes I know you would willingly attain the wished Haven, but then you must imbarque a new, and not in the old Shipwrack't designe. And since it is no Flattery to wish you well, for your own sake, and many others, pray take this Pamphlet to steere your course by, and accoumpt him as good a friend to your selfe and the Kingdome, as any you have bin acquainted with these seven yeares, who first delivers it into your hands: For, I am confident, were you abroad among your old Councell, you should not reap so much of the truth of your Interest, as you may in these poor sheetes, which are but the Gleanings of observation.

To the PRESBYTERS.

Sweet SIRS: Let not your Jealousie accuse this Paper of a Plot against the State: Truly I have added your Interest out of pitty to your condition, that since you cannot attain your Jure divino, you may (at least) open your eyes, and preserve your selves (if you please) in a handsome equipage, Jure humano.

To the INDEPENDENTS.

FRIENDS: You who are Listed more immediatly under the Prince of Peace, ought not so to prosecute your Interest, as to begin a War upon it; but only to remaine on the defensive till your just Liberty be confirmed, and the Prince's due right restored, since Conscience must needs remaine quieter, where the power is invested in one King, than in an Hydra of Presbyters. Above all things you must not be Anti-parliamentary, but exercise wisdome with patience, and the countenance of that Authority cannot long be wanting: A word to the wise.

To the CITY.

SIRS: My desire is, that you may flourish, which cannot be, unlesse you minde only your peculiar Interest of Trade.

If you resolve to live and die with Presbyterie, consider that you can ill Bandy against the other two Parties, since it cannot be unknown, that they are the major part of your selves. A City divided against it selfe cannot stand.

To

To the Scots.

Friends and Confederates:

TAke this briefe draught of your interest, wherewith I here present you, with the same Ingenuity and Candor, that I wrote it. God shall beare me record, that I say nothing open here, with intent to worke division, it being contrary to my obligation by Covenant; but onely to satisfie the world in truth concerning you, and your selves in what concernes your owne happinesse, safety, and advantage, by a wise demeanour, in order to the conservation of Peace in these Kingdoms. Honi soit qui mal y pense.

And now (Gentlemen) but one word more to all: I suppose none can take just offence, since I state the Interests *of all indifferently, pointing out to each the way to advance and preserve their own* Party, *and I shall commend to them what the Duke of* Rohan *saith of the States of* Europe, *that according as they follow their propper* Interests, *they thrive or faile in* Successes, *so the* Parties *now on Foot in this* Kingdom, *must looke to stand or fall upon the same Ground.*

The Case of the KINGDOME STATED, &c.

First, touching the Intereſt of the KING *and his Partie.*

THE *King* (as the caſe lately ſtood with *him*) was a very *Priſoner*; and ſo being fallen from the height of *fortune*, muſt remit much of the height of his *deſigne*; and what hath been loſt by *bandying*, he ought to *Salve* by a wary *Compliance*. That *this* he may effect in a ſhort time is very probable, ſince what *Machiavell* ſets downe as a ſure *Principle* towards the purchaſe of *Empire* *Is acted ready to his *hands*, by the mutuall expence of *Spleene* in his *oppoſites* againſt each other: ſo that all he hath to doe is to ſit *ſtill*, to *foment* and *blow* the Fire, and give the *humours* time to *toyle*, till being tyred in *extreames* there appeare a *neceſſity* of one *Third* to reſt in, (which can be no other but himſelfe;) and then his onely *Intereſt* will be, to *cloſe* with that *Party* which gives moſt *hope* of *Indulgence* to his *Prerogative*, & greateſt probability of *favor* to his *Friends*. That neither of theſe can be expected from the *Presbyterian*, is evident for many *Reaſons*: And firſt touching the *Prerogative*, their *Government* in the nature of it *derogates* not onely from the *Civill* in *generall*, but carries with it a more ſpeciall enmity againſt *Monarchie*; ſo that they which intend to *found* the one, muſt *raze* the *Fundamentals* of the other in any *Kingdome* whatſoever. *Politique* aſſertions of this kinde ſhould be ſtrengthned by Obſervations out of Hiſtory: But the *tender* age of this *Upſtart Hierarchy* and the *Little* entertainment it hath found in the *World*, yeelds us nothing of moment to obſerve, unleſſe in our own *Iſland*. For if we looke abroad, we finde it but ſtragling up and downe in *France* and *Germany*, and in ſuch *places* onely as acknowledge

little

little or *none* at all of *Kingly* power; so that *Scotland* is the onely *visible* Kingome where this *Pest* is *Epidemicall*, and it was (first) *Scotch* Charity to *Baptize* it as *Christian*, into the name and priviledge of a *National Forme*. This was done during the minority of King *James*, when the *Lords* and *Clergie* ruling all as they *listed*, at length *parted stakes* (though the *Clergie* then got, and still hold the better) that when He came to age, he found the Fable of *Ixion's Juno* moralized upon himselfe; for as he instead of a *Goddesse* imbraced a *Cloud*; so the *King*, when he thought to grasp his *Scepter*, laid hold on a *Munacle*, which kept his hands so fast, during his abode there, that he could never Act but when they pleased to let him, according to their own *Directory* of *Kirk* and State: And in processe of time this heat of *Presbytery* proved such an *Hectique* in the body *Politique* of *Scotland*, that the Substance of *Kingly power* was utterly consumed, and nothing left (as we see at this day) but the bare bones, the very *Skeleton* of a *Monarchie*; Witnesse the unlimited power of the *Convention of Estates*, and *Generall Assembly*, but especially of this latter, which (like to the Rod of *Aaron*) is in such a budding, thriving condition, that it hath devoured the Rod of *Moses*, as his did the Magicians of *Ægypt*, and proves a Scourge to the *Magistracie* and *People*. This is a sufficient *Instance* (being also the onely one in the World) to manifest the *Antipathie* betwixt a *National Presbytery*, and the *civill* power of *Common-weales* and *Kingdomes*, wherein whosoever desires further satisfaction, needs doe no more but take a strict survey of their owne Bookes of *Discipline*.

Secondly, touching the *Kings Friends* [which are of two Sorts, *viz.* the *Bishops* and their *Clergie*, the *Courtiers* with the *Gentry*,] they must expect lesse from the *Presbyter* than the King himselfe may: For, as They would leave the *King* nothing but a *name* without *Substance*, so they will allow the *Bishops* neither Name nor *Substance*, and inslave the *Gentry* in their own *Lordships* by a new way of *parochiall Tyrannie*: For, if so be they *conforme* not, then they must expect in a short time to see the meanest of their *Tenants* become their *Masters* in judicature, and so what *Solomon* cals a great *Vanitie*, will be a *Prime mystery* in this new *Government*.

Hence, then we may conclude, that the Kings *Interests* leads him to close rather with the other party (called *Independent*) as the onely meanes to free *him* and his *friends*, from the former *Inconveniences*, and that for these following *Reasons*.

First, because they are the onely friends to *Civil* government in the *World*, leaving it wholly in the hands of the *Magistrate*; pleading *exemption* in nothing but their *Church-way*: Whereas the *Presbyters* claim not onely a distinct power in *Church-affaires* [as you may read in that *Branch* of the *Synods* late *confession* which speakes of *Church-censures*] but they borrow also so much from the *Magistrate*, as will inable them to *compell* mens Consciences: And so under this cunning *Pretence*, that the *Magistrate* is bound to use or lend his power to support their *arbitrary constitutions* [the Proofes whereof they Fish out of the *Judicials* of *Moses*, and some places of the *Gospell* misapplyed in some of their *Articles*] lurkes the great *Mystery of Iniquity*, whereby They gaine a power even over the *Magistrate* himselfe, who in this case must use the *sword* (for *conscience* sake) whereseoever they please to *Advise* or *Command* him: And so both *King* and *Parliament* must give way, and *compell* others to submit, to whatsoever they shall ordain in their *Generall Assembly*, as *for the well-governing of the Church*.

Secondly; because it is easie for the *King* to mingle *Interests* with the *Independents*, and oblige them with that which is denyed them by the *Presbyter*, viz. *Liberty of conscience*: In which Particular he ought also to pretend great tendernesse, it being his *owne* case at present to suffer by many pressing *Importunities*, to take the *Covenint*, and passe things of high Importance wherein he is not satisfied, the refusall whereof upon *Scruple of Conscience* is the only cause of his *non-accesse* to the Parliament.

Thirdly, because the *Independent* Principles lead them to admitt rather of *Monarchy* than any other *Government*, as being that under which they presume of greater *Inlargements*, than when *Many* rule; who are usually most apt to gratifie a faction in the *Nationall Church* with accruments of worldly pomp and power, the better to support their owne in the *State*.

Fourthly

Fourthly, Here is a doore of Hope opened this way for the *Bishops* & their *Clergie*, with all that are for the *Leiturgie* and that Government, Whereas, if *Presbytrie* take place in a *National mode*, then there will be *Forme* against their *Forme*, and *Policy* against their *Policie*, which when it shall be actually twisted with that of the *State*, can never be removed without length of time and extreme difficulty. Where observe by the way, how it was ever the *grand* mystery which *Satan* set on work in the hearts of those who glory in that usurped *Title* of *Clergie*; first to introduce a *plausible*, *politique*, *prudentiall* way of Government in the *Church*; as the only *pattern brought out of the Mount*; then to gain it a sure being and repute with men, thy were wont to take in some of the power of the *World* to countenance it, and force a Submission thereto by all, under the *old specious* pretext of *Decency*, *Conformity*, and *Order*; and lastly to make all fast, the Custome was to mingle *Interests* with the *State* or the *Prince* [as the *Bishops* lately did with our *Kings*, and the *Presbyters* doe now with some *great Ones* and the *City*] and so their *Fundamentalls* being once poys'd with the others, then whosoever shall presume to move the one, must shake the other, and presently incurre the *brand* of seditious disturbers of *States* and Kingdomes; Which hath been no meane artifice of the *Devill* [in all times] to uphold his Kingdom in the hearts of men, against the Kingdom of *Christ*. In this Particular the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* have been alike fauley; But if these have time to supplant the *Bishops* [as they are in a fair way] and over-act them at their owne *game*, They are left for ever without remedy. But

Fifthly, by an immediate *Close* with the *Independent*, and abandoning that curled Principle of *universall Compulsion*, as well in opinion as practise, since there a numerous sort of people in the *Kingdom*, that will not bee satisfied, without the old *externall* Forme of *Diocesan* and *Leiturgies*; it's cleare then, that *Independents* may help to Instate Them in that *Forme* againe, upon some visible assurance, that themselves shall bee left at *Liberty*, rather then be trodden down, by a *Mornivall* [or two] of *Tyrants* [no lesse monstrous [perhaps] for *Ignorance*, than pride] in every *parochiall Inquisition*.

The

The laſt Reaſon is, becauſe the Kings *Vnion* with this party may ſo abate the fury of the *Presbiter*, that (whether *Peace* or *War* enſue) thoſe of the *Court*, *Councell*, *and Gentry* excepted from pardon, and the reſt that have not yet *Compounded*, cannot continue long at this diſtance, without ſome *probable* hope, That Humors altering, and by the mediation of ſome the reſt being brought to a more *moderate temper*, it may be no hard matter to reconcile *all* within the Limits of an *Act of Oblivion*.

And ſo for theſe Reaſons *I conceive, we may boldly affirme, That ſince the* King *hath no hope of remedy from his Friends here at home, or abroad, his true* Intereſt *at preſent is by ſome meanes or other, to cloſe with that Partie in this* Kingdome *which they call* Independent.

The *Intereſt* of the *Presbyter and his Party.*

PResbitrie was no ſooner born at *Geneva*, but it was *nurſt* up here in *England* in the *Wiſhes* of many, as *Heir apparent* of *Epiſcopacie*, For it's uſuall ever in all wordly *Church-reformations* (as well as thoſe of the *Staue*) to finde ſome men, either out of *conſcience or envy*, diſaffected to the ſettled Government: Out of *Envy*, when they miſſe of that *Preferment* which they expected by a *change*; out of *conſcience*, when they ſee a greater glory of *Light* and *Purity* beyond it, and therefore will not live by it, but beſide it, or above it; The truth whereof *Experience* hath told us in all the degrees of *Reformation* in this *Kingdom*, from *Popery* to *Prelacie*, from the *Biſhop* to the *Presbyter*: And I ſhall willingly allow the *Presbyters* (who reckon themſelves for the *old Puritans* of *England*) ſo much charity, as to think their *diſ-affection* proceeded meerely from a Conſcience *well-informed*, becauſe I obſerve now an *Impreſſa* of divine glory and excellency in many of their *Practiſes*; But yet I would have them to know, that They are not yet come to Mount *Zion*, till they be able to prove the *Chaire* of a generall *Aſſembly* the very *Throne* of *Chriſt*: And except they ſhew all the lineaments of their Goverament derived *naturally* from *Scripture*, it will fright mens *Conſciences* and make Them diſclaime it for a monſter: For, the *Diſcipline* now

now contended for is (as was the Bishops) but externall, *prudentiall*, matter of Form and Policie, and it is look't upon as so much the more *intolerable*, if rigidly prest, by how much it opens a farr *wider* gap for *Tyranny*; Because if the *Bishops* made us grone under 24. *Dioceses*, and but one *High-Commission*, what will become of us under almost 10000 *Presbyteries*, beside the *Torments* of *Classes*, *Provinciall Iunto's Synods*, and *Assemblies*? Were they able to prove one of them *Scripturall*, it were a litle honester *handying* against men of *different* Iudgment, but since the continuation of that *Ridiculous Plea* for a *Ius Divinum* with *compulsive* power, can gain nothing but *hatred* frō both the other *Parties*, & must of necessity by *dis-obliging* their *friends* increase the number their Enemies, & in time *exasperate* both so farr, that nothing will satisfie but an abolition of the *new Form* as *immoderate*, and a re-establishing the *old*, upon more assurance of *liberty*: Therefore the only *Interest* of the *Presbyters* is to allow the *Independents* their liberty of *Church-way*, to esteem them as *Brethren*, and not to make difference in *circumstantialls*, a ground for *persecution*. And this I shall further illustrate by Reason.

First, its as much *madness* to persecute men, because they are not like us in *opinion*, as it were to quarrell with them when they resemble us not, in outward complexion. For, since wee lost perfection in *Adam*, what ever *knowledg* wee attaine to now, is either *moral*, by the improving of natural indowments; or els *Divine*, which is an Influence from *Heaven* upon the *Soul*: For the former, we are beholden meditatly to the bounty of *Nature* and our own *Industry*; for the latter, immediatly to God. Therefore where we see any *weaker* in Judgement than our *Selves*, we ought to look upon them as *deplorable*, rather then *damnable*. Vain man! What made the difference betwixt Thee and thy *weak* Brother? did not *Free-grace*? For, *what hast thou that thou didst not receive? and God may reveale it to him also in due Time*.

Secondly, the designe of *Conformity* or *Vniformity* in the *Church*, hath been, and is the grand *Cheat* whereby the *Devill* makes men run a madding; & though it ever pretend a plausible *end* of Cementing the *State* against *Division*, yet pull off its *Visard*, and you shall find it to be both the *Mother* and *Nurse* of all *Division* (as it ever was) through out all *Europe* in matters of Religion: The witchcrafts of this Jeze-

bel [it is] that trouble our *Israel*. For, it is against common sence and reason to expect, that ever men will be one in opinion (the Heathen said, *Quot Capita, tot Sensus*,) so that those which endeavour it seeme to me, as if they meant to imprison *Æolus* and all his * *Sons* in a Bagg (as it is said of the *Laplanders*) since *Opinion* blowes from every point of the *Compass*: And as a confinement of the *Wind* torments *Nature* with an Earth-quak, so to rob the *Soul* of its Freedom (which is far more agile and diffusive) must needs cause a *Colick* (with inflammation) in the bowels of a *Kingdom*, And therfore till *Vniformity-mongers* be pointed at as the only Enemies of a *State*: and this wicked perswasion be wrought out of the hearts of men, that they ought to make all men walk that way *per-force* which their *Priests* cry up for the right: till men be lesse in the *Letter* that they may be *one* in the *Spirit* (which none but the *Spirituall* can apprehend,) and untill they leave crying, *Fire from Heaven* against *Brethren in the Faith*, we shall alwayes have the Kingdom in a *Flame*, and (perhaps) *themselves* may be the first in *Ashes*.

* The 32. Winds.

Thirdly, men under *oppression* (though sometime wise enough) become *mad*, and usually trample down all *Relations* to make way for a *deliverer*, that gives hope of the least remedy, and as the condition of *Beings* alters, so all men do varie their *Interests*, and Principles.

Fourthly, if a *rigid* course should be prosecuted, and so a *Breach* be made betwixt those who (for the major part) are *one* by *Solemne Covenant*; the *Independent* having that invincible Plea of *Se defendendo* on his side, the whole *Scandall* will retort upon the *Presbyter*: And if it be objected that the *Independent* occasions the *Breach*, by opposing the Letter of the Covenant for an *vniforme* Reformation, I answer, that the Covenant in its *extent* hath this *ultimate* Limitation, viz. *according to the Word of God*: No otherwise; The whole resolves into that, as being all in all. And then, if both Parties be reduced to that *Rule*, Let God and good men judge (for the *World* cannot) whose will be the *Breach*.

Lastly a *moderate Condescention* in the *Presbyter* will by keeping the other from *extremes*, stop all *new designes*, and when there is more of the Spirit of *Love* in their proceedings, they will draw less of *Enmity*. It will for ever confirme a *Brotherly* Vnion, which must prevent the forenamed *Insinuations* of the *Royall* and *Episcopall*

Party

Party, and prove a *Bulwark* within, and a *wall of Brass* about the *Nation*.

* *Hic murus aheneus esto:*

From whence I once againe infer, the sole *Interest* of the *Presbyters* is, to counter-work the *King* in his *Interest*, as their *grand* opposite, by complying with the *Independent*, and it ought to be their wisdome to look upon all men, and Counsells in their owne *Party*, (whether of the *Purple* or *Sable* robe) that *Thunder* in the behalfe of a *rigid* Presbytery, as very *Malignants*, lurking among them under pretence of *Reformation*, to draw in the lesse wise and more worldly fiery *Zelots*, to Act for that party under a *disguise* which They pretend most to hate, and by fulminating against our *fast friends*, as *Heretiques* and *Schismatiques*, &c. to shipwrack us in the Haven, and *Casse* all the successes of this Parliament by *Division*.

The *Interest* of the *Independent Party*.

AS *Presbyterie* is the *Rivall* of *Episcopacie*, so *Independencie* being of an higher *Straine*, than to admit of humane *prudence* in *Church-Government*, her Principles stand indifferent towards either of them, as may serve most for her *owne* advantage. Both the other take in some of the *wisdome*, and much of the *power* of the world, and so share with the *Kingdomes* of the world, to make up a *Church*, whereby they draw the *World* after Them, because the way is so suitable to *worldly Reason*; thus *Carnall* men will ever be for a *Carnall* Church: But *Independents* affirme the *Church* ought to be a *spirituall* building, framed of such *lively stones* as are not of the *World*, nor of the wisdome of the *World*, but founded only upon the wisdome of *God* revealed in the word by his *Spirit*, which They esteeme sufficient to constitute and maintaine a *Church*, without any assistance from the Kingdomes of the World, whose power They leave *entire* unto Themselves.

The Summ is this: both *Bishops* and *Presbyters* by their Church-policy, stand *Competitors* with the *Magistrate*, and *Independents* leave all to him, save only the *Kingdome of Christ*, which (if you will take his owne word) is not of *this world*, and so can be no trouble to it, unless *His* be first troubled by it.

By this description then it appeares, that the Government contended for by the other two is but *mere* Policie: and since their *Po-*

litiques render Them utterly irreconcileable, *Independencie* (which owns no Policie) becomes the *ballancing* power betwixt them: And as it behoves either of the two, to strive to weigh down the other, by a timely Close with *It*, So the only *Interest* of *Independencie* is to imbrace that party where an *union* procures most *Indulgence* and little or no *Scandall*: Which I conceive may be expected rather from the *Royall-Episcopall* Party, than the other, upon these following *Grounds*.

First, Though Principles of *Faith* should sway the *Presbyters*, to *brotherly amity* with the *Independent*, yet by their driving so furiously upon termes of discipline, and through their eagernes upon *uniformity in the Letter* slighting that glorious *unity in the Spirit* (which is the very life of Christian profession) they give little hope of favour, but rather expectation of a *fiery Tryall*, seeing they begin to *heat the Furnace* already.

Secondly, though *Bishops* stand at a great distance; Yet (setting aside that grosse mixture of *Ceremonies*) their discipline were far more tolerable, notwithstanding they had power to exerce it to the utmost with compulsion, because Tyranny cannot be so great in the hands of *Few*, as *many*, So that if hereafter (in case *Presbyterie* be setled) our former plagues be not a thousand times trebled upon us, we must acknowledge our present freedome, only to the *courtesie* and goodnes of our *Task-masters*: But if *corrupt times* come on [as who can assure us they will not, since the old *mystery of iniquity* is now in the world under a new *Forme*?] What then will become of our posterity, when the yoke shall be faltned to our neckes by an *act of Parliament*?

Thirdly, though the *Episcopall* are enemies to both *Presbyters* and *Independents*, yet considering these have been extreme civill in using their victories, and may now most oblige them in their *lowest* condition: and it being possible that both their interests may stand together (with *discretion*) entire, then if Bishops quit the exorbitant *compulsive* power, and the King give assurance against it for *liberty of Conscience*, the enmity betwixt him and the *Independent* may bee soone extinguished.

Fourthly, there can be no scandall to the *Independent*, by such an

union

union of interests, since the Woe following scandall belongs to them alway, by whom the grounds of Scandall are necessitated. And therefore that the *Scandall* may clearely report upon *Presbyter* (as I proved before it must) the *Independent* ought not to admitt of a *Breach* till the *red Dragon* begin to play *Rex*, till the *Whore* prepares to *dye her Scarlet anew*, *and the pale Horse of imprisonment and exile* threaten a Range about the Streets.

Lastly, though this discovery of *Interest* may seem to portend ruine to the *Parliament*, yet it is far otherwise: For *Independents* ought not to looke upon it so, as to neglect them in whose *priviledges* and safety all *Liberty* is involved: But with all tendernes to have regard unto them, as the only *Rampire* against all kinds of *Tyrannie*, since all proceedings thence against them as *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* &c. are actuated only by some particular men, whose designes being laid *in the dark*, Time alone must discover: Bnt that which will Crown *Independent*-Interest [and which is indeed true *Parliamentary* Interest, though *Presbyterian* drive another way] is, to reconcile the King upon such *honourable*, Termes, that as he and they are in *all reason* obliged to down with the *Dagon* of a rigid *Presbyterie*, so the ingagement may be managed with such *Caution*, for the safety of the *Parliament*, and assurance of *Liberty* in time to come, as may remove all *Iealousies* and lay a sure foundation for a *lasting Peace*.

The *Interest* of the City of *London*

THis City beares the name of the *Metropolis* of *England*, the *Royall Chamber*, the grand *Emporium*, the *universall Exchange* for Traffick; so that her sole *Interest* is a *free Trade*, whereby having acquired large *Demesnes* in all Parts, she maintaines a considerable influence upon the whole, which makes her stand on *tip-toe*, looking down with disdain upon all, as unable or unworthy to stand in competition with her *single* Selfe. This conceit hath been much heightned by those large *Contributions* thence, which have been the very *Sinews* of the *Warre* against the *Royall Party*; so that it's to be feared the Huge *Animal* having found its own strength, may prove *Rampant*, and contemn the *Bridle*, unless a little corected by *Reason*.

Therefore *I* think meet to lay down these ensuing *considerations*.

First, that what they have hitherto done, must not be look't upon as done by their owne strength and Riches, but only as these received an Authority of *Parliament* to give life unto the *Action*, without which (as then, so) all designes [now, or hereafter] must prove *abortive*.

Secondly, though the *Citizens* pretend *Religion* to be the only necessary *Appendix* to their *Trade*, by clasping both together with a *rigid Presbytery*, and suppose this the more pleasing safe way, because they are made beleeve it is *Divine*, yet if they please to look more narrowly upon the *Scriptures* and the proceedings of their *Priests*, they may learne the *Scope* of their *State-Divinity* is only to drive a *Trade* in the *Ministry* upon them and their *Estates*; which the *City* shall soone find, when the *Presbyterian Charter* is once confirmed *by Act of Parliament*.

Thirdly, if only *even re konings make long friends*, then it's like this hot love to a *Presbyterie* may end in a *Divorce* before the three yeares end, especially when the *Accompts* shall be cast up betwixt *Clergy* and *Laity*, that worm-eaten Reverend *Cheat* of *distinction* betwixt Brethren. It's true indeed, some of them shall be admitted to a partnership in the *Tyranny*, and this is the very *De-coy* to allure them on, but usually the *preaching* Presbyter swayes All, and he is a very silly one indeed that knowes not how to do it, since they either stand or fall according to his Report of their good *Complyance*, in the opinion of the Generall *Assembly* [that *Holy* of *Holies*, where the *Lay-Vulgars* must not enter;] which *neat* contrivance of invisible *Clock-work*, will be sure to have a *wheele* going in all affaires of the *Kingdome*

But Fourthly, Suppose that the *Lay-Elders* themselves should have fair Play from the *Priests*, yet what Comfort will that be to the rest of the *Parish*, who must be in little better condition then *gally-slaves*, when the *Eldership* shall have an *Oare* in every *Boat*? And this appeares by the power given them to suspend persons from, and admit to the *Supper*, as they shall see cause according to an *Ordinance* in that behalfe: In which *Ordinance* there being no lesse than 80. sins enumerated (and an addition of many more indeavoured; any one of which upon *Conviction*, may include a man Guilty, if they please to pronounce

pronounce him: then it is cleare also, that since a man can hardly do any thing that comes not within the compas of those *Sins*, all men must be irrefragably subject to their pleasure in all their dealings, or else be delivered upto the *Devill* [forsooth] by *Excommunication*: Where then will *freedome* be in a *corrupt* Presbyterie when the Citizens shal not dare to dispose of their owne *Estates*, nor weare *Clothes* as they please, nor manage their *Trades* to fructifie *per cent.* nor use an hundred other *fine feats*, without a friend or *feeling* in the *Eldership*? What will become of our *Lawyers* too, when it is an easie matter to make the same *Ordinance*, a *Shoing-horne* to draw on all *cases*, depending betwixt man and man, into their owne *Consistories*?

Fifthly, they may do well to consider, that if they shall drive any other *Interest* than *Trade*, as their owne peculiar, which may intrench upon the *union of Interests* before mentioned, or hinder them from uniting by under-propping the other *Party*, it's cleare then, that their power and greatness will be *suspected*, and become odious to *Prince* and *People*: For, their *High Termes* already with the Parliament, and the establishing of a *Militia* in their owne hands, *distinct* from the rest of the Kingdome, makes *wise men* whisper, as if they meant to found a new *Religious Democracie*, by resolving the *Co-ordinations* of power in the Lord *Major*, *Aldermen*, and *Common councell* into a *popular Senate*.

Sixthly, I would have them consider that the *Iealousies* of *States* and *Princes* are great, and cannot brook any *Rivall*, nor will they judge themselves safe, as long as any one *Corporation* of *Subjects* make a shew of *Competition* in wealth and *power*. Nor can it be safe for *Subjects* to discover them too far in this way, least they teach *Princes* to secure and inrich themselves by seizing upon * *Theirs*. What made the *Abbies* and *Monasteries* so lookt on, but only their great *Wealth*? And what was the main *Plea* to ruine them (as *Princes* (if possible) will have some colour of *Law to* set off Actions of this nature) but their holding vast possessions in their hands which could not passe from man to man and so lay *dead* to the prejudice of the the *Common-Wealth*? I with the *City* to ponder, whether there be not the same

* *Facile est Baculum invenire, ut cædas canem.*

ſame *Reaſon* farr more preſſing, againſt the unmeaſurable *Revenues* of their *Halls* and ſeverall *Companies*, thoſe inſatiable *Gulphs* which *ſwallow* up ſo great a partof the *Kingdom*: And whether their high *Raunting* may not bring on the ſame *Fate* hereafter, on the ſame ground, upon the firſt *tempting* Oportunity.

Laſtly, ſince their *Presbytery* is onely of the *World*, they may doe well to conſider how it is like to thrive in the World, ſince ſo few even amongſt *themſelves* are willing to entertaine it, and the *Counties* abroad are ſome of them ſo *wiſe*, others ſo *croſs-grain'd* to all *Novelty*: that they generally *deteſt* it: And therefore if it ſhall appeare that the *Citizens* are the men, which reſolve to bandy againſt both *King* and *Independent* [whoſe *Intereſts* tend to a ſpeedy honourable Peace and juſt Liberty] for the ſetling of that *government* in the *Church*, which neither wee, nor our *Children* ſhall be able to beare, it's moſt certaine, that the *Odium* of a SECOND WARR will reflect upon them, and the whole burden of *guilt* and *expence* reſt upon their *ſhoulders*: And then they may gueſſe what the conſequence will bee, when their *Purſes* are exhauſted, and both the other *Parties* [carying the *Kingdome* before them] ſhall be forced into an unanimous *deſigne of revenge*, to ſcourge their *pride*, with ſuch an *alteration* (if not *utter deſtruction*] as may verifie [perhaps] the *Fagg-end* of the old Propheſie, that YORK SHALL BEE.

From all which I may ſumm up this *Concluſion*.

That the true *Intereſt* of the *City* is to coole by degrees toward a *Presbyterie* (not all at once, leſt it be accounted *Levity*,) And in the mean time to ſtand *neutrall* ſo farr as not to make a *diſtinct party*, nor drive any *deſigne* at *Home* or at *Weſtminſter*, by *hoiſting* up *ſupernumerary Votes*, & pulling down al others with *Remonſtrative* or *Petitionary Out-cries*, but to leave the *Presbyterian cauſe* to ſtand or fall, by *Reaſon* and *ſober debate* in *Parliament*, that being the leſs look't upon in ſo *turbulent* a time, They may enjoy their *City* and *Poſſeſſions* without *Envy*, and the ſhaken Kingdom [they keeping ſtill] may have time to ſettle, and recover the priſtine health and ſplendor of a *glorious Monarchie*.

O Cives, Cives, *quæ vos Dementia cepit,*
——Tanti non eſt Civilia *bella moveri.*

The

THat which had been long indeavoured in *vaine* by severall *Kings*, being at length (through the prudence of *Henry* 7.) effected, I meane the *Union* of both *Crownes* in the person of one *Prince*; King *Iames* willing (as much as might bee) to *burie* the remembrance of *dis-union* and *allay* the *deadly feids* running *in a blond* betwixt the *borderers*, thought meet to *curtaile* his *title* of the usuall *distinct* names of *England* and *Scotland*; and as *both* made but one *Island*, so hee compriſed both in that one ancient *appellative* of *great Britain*.

This *Union* under a *native* King of *Scotland*, was an *happy* occaſion for that *poore* Kingdom, to augment their *repute* and *fortunes*; and as in ſuch *caſes* it is vſuall for the *leſſe*, to drive a purchaſe upon the *greater*, by *cloſing in* as neare as *jealouſie* wil permit; ſo the *Scots* (inamoured of the *cluſters* of our *Canaan*) loſt no time in getting ground on this ſide *Jordan*, viz: *Tweed*, till many of them became poſſeſſors of *fair vinyards*, and were able to *vie* Lordſhips with our wealthieſt *Engliſh*. To this height they *arrived* through the favour of that *King*, which drew many more into a deſire of the *warmer Sun*, and an *emulation* of their *friends* happineſſe here in *England*.

But toward the *latter* end of King *Iames*, the *paſſages* began to be *blockt up at* Court by the *Prelates* faction, who judged it dangerous for their *Hierarchie*, to ſee men of that *Nation* in too great a number & power, near hand, for fear leſt the ſame *humor* which had depreſſed *Epiſcopall* pomp there, might in time have an *influence* here alſo; ſo that by this means not only the affections of King *Iames*, (whoſe ordinary *Apophthegme* was, *no Biſhop*, no *King*) were a little *weaned*; but he being dead, the ſame *Counſells* prevailed upon the new *King*, his *Son* (one eaſily wrought any way to gratifie his *Clergy*) *to a diſ-obliging* of the *Scots*: who ſeeing themſelves now quite out of hope of *thriving* by the *Kings* favour; and knowing well upon what *ground*, and by whoſe *meanes* things were thus carried, concluded then there was no way to get into the *Nation*, but upon the *ruine* of our *Biſhops*; which muſt neceſſarily follow, if they could introduce the *Preſbyteriall* government, which *themſelves* had received in *Scotland*: and this they found was no *hard* matter to *effect*, ſince there were *many* that way *affected* in *England*, and their *affections* highly *inflamed*, by reaſon of the *rigorous* dealing & *tyrannical* pride of ſome *Clergy-men*, which rendred their whole *Order* and government, odious to the more *tender conſciences*, & prepared the people (*hood-winkt*) to entertain any *change*, though to their own *preiudice*.

This being (on the *other* ſide) immediately reſented by the *Biſhops*, they judged it beſt to be *before-hand* with the *Scots*; and firſt (to try their *patience*, and Pick a *quarrel*, on purpoſe to *tame* them by *force*) a *new Leiturgie* was contrived, ſent, and *impoſed* upon them; the *offer* whereof bred ſo much indignation in the one *party*, as a *refuſall* did in the other (both glad

enough of the *occasion*,) that a *war* immediately ensued; wherein though the *King* were ingaged on the *Bishops* part, yet the *Scots* got most of *Honour* and (the *warr* being ended) much *money* and *reputation*, among their *friends* in *England*; which so *indeared* them, that a new *rupture* falling out betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, they had an easie *inlet* to build themselves (with high *confidence*) a more sure *interest* than ever, in this *Nation*; which was accomplisht by the *mutuall* ingagement of the *Parliaments* of each *Kingdom* to other (as *brethren*) in the firm *bond* of a *League* and *Covenant*.

By which *lant-skip* of discourse it appeares, as the *Scots* have now attained the *pitch* of their *desires*, by a *fast foot* in the *fat soyle of England*, through *mutuall Covenanting*, (which hath been long a *contriving* and earnestly struggled for,) so they ought to prosecute the *Covenant* (the *vitals* of their *hope*) with all *due* respect, *tenderneſse*, and *caution* (according to the *rationall* drift of it) toward the people of *England*, lest their *proceedings* become odious, and *themselves* be *kick'd off* again with disdain and *enmity*.

Therefore I shall present them with a few *considerations*.

First, let them be pleased to remember, that the people look upon them but as *intersours*, and therefore must needs *swell* high with *indignation*, if they bustle themselves over-much in the affaires of *England*, knowing in how high scorne it was taken, that they should claime an *interest* (as once they had the boldneſse to doe, in their *Papers* given into the *Parliament*) in *dispoſall* of matters *meerly* relating to our *welfare*: And since all men know, that though they were admitted to ingage here (*necessity* so requiring it) as *equals* and *competitors* in the same *cause*, the *Kingdomes* being *supposed equally* involved in the same *common* danger; yet were they indeed but *Mercenaries*, in *pay* of the *English* Parliament, who might have had *Germans* or *Swisses* at the same *rate*, & (perhaps) no more *prejudice* to the *Country*.

Secondly, I must confesse, it behoves the *Scot predicant* (if possible) to see *Episcopacy* cashiered root and branch, and their owne *forme stated* here, in a sure succession, that so a *correspondence* being cherished between Clergy of the same *garb* and *humour*, in both *Countries*, they may freely *tosse thunder-bolts of excommunication*, on both sides, to gratifie each other, and so be able to terrifie all *Lords* and *Gentry*, that dare be *averse* in either *Kingdome*, and *promote* such onely to *places of Trust*, whose *poorer* spirits will vassallize their *Birth* and *Genius* to serve their ends. And I confesse, it behoves such *great ones*, as have already *link'd* themselves in *design* with the *Clergie*, to stick close to them a while, for their owne *credit* and *security*, except they can handsomly retreat with *speed*; yet both *English* and *Scotch* Gentry of this *gang*, may consider that such a *course* cannot stand long in *England*; where being *Myriads* of more *generous* soules than in *Scotland*, they must alwaies expect a *flying out* into any extremes, that yeeld the least hope of an advantage to *throw their riders*.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, if the *Scots* plead *conscience* for *extirping* the Government by *Bishops*, as bound thereto by *Covenant*; yet seeing *Bishop* is every jot as *wholsome* a word, and as much *Scripturall* as *Presbyter*, and that our weaker *Brethren* in *England* are *wedded* to that Forme, as more tolerable than any other, and more *sutable* to the *Lawes* and *Constitution* of the *Monarchie*; I suppose, that the admission of a *Bishop mortified*, *regulated*, and *pruned* of his *superfluities*, will no whit clash with the sense of the *Covenant*: For it is plaine, that the *scope* of it is not against *Bishop* in the *Abstract*, but in the *Concrete*, as laden with an *accumulation* of *Deanes*, *Deanes* and *Chapters*, *Prebends*, *Chancellours*, *Commissaries*, &c. though if these also were *admitted* againe, as I cannot see how they may be well *refused*, yet the *Scots* (for their part) and those of their *party* here in *England*, having indeavoured their utmost to *extirp* it, they have done all that the *Covenant* requires, though it be not effected. But seeing most in *England* will not be content without it, and nothing but another *Conquest* can *force* any other upon them, me thinke *rationall* men should sit downe content with a discharge of their consciences, in having seriously *endeavoured* the *extirping* it to their power (further then which the *Covenant* doth not binde them,) rather then aime at an *impossibility* in *reason*, or venture a *sad score* upon *conscience*, in imbroyling two *Kingdomes* again, to an inevitable ruine of a *third*; which can never be justified from *Scripture*, in the behalfe of *Principles of Faith*, which are the *substance* of *Religion*, much lesse upon point of *Discipline*, which is but the *shadow*.

Fourthly, if a *designe* be followed, to *force* their Government upon this *Kingdome*, so generally detested by *reasonable* men, the *war* cannot possibly bee *long-liv'd* here, where the *thing* contended for is so ill *befriended*, but must of *necessity*, be translated toward *Scotland*, where it had its *Originall*: And though the *Scots* need not feare, being valiant enough, and having one *advantage* above all other men, in possessing *little* that may *invite* men to a conquest; yet it wilbe *chastisement* enough to be beaten home, & kept there from their usuall way of *thriving*, by *intercourse with England*.

Fifthly, since that their *Presbyterie* is more of the *World*, and so like to be more *troublesome* to it than *Episcopacie*, it will bee an *occasion* to the *English*, to *pry* into the *grounds* of the *Scots* so earnest *pressing* that *government* upon them: and finding by the *Proeme* of this particular *draught* (which *wise observing* men cannot be ignorant of) that *worldly* respects first made them bring it in hither, the greater part of men here (which are *wordly*) will indeavour to preserve themselves against all such *worldly incroachments* under *pretence* of *Religion*: and though it be presented in a new *dresse*, called *Reformation*; yet since it must prove no other, than an *Assassination* of the *Monarchie*, and a *Reducing* of the old *Privado's* which *oppressed* us at *Court* to *overwhelm* us with *new* ones quite throughout

[illegible]

[illegible] there be some certainty which way to [illegible] and their *favorites* may do well to consider, [illegible] with the business against a generous people, [illegible] in *England* and *Scotland*, where [illegible] *flawed*, and led about to serve the ends of the [illegible] being *rich* and *sensible* of their *freedoms*, will [illegible] the *persuasions* of men, than what they can make [illegible] cing to the *general good*, so that the *ground work* of all actions [illegible] according the peoples *inclination*, and not the *faction* of [illegible] they never so potent in *wealth*, or *wisdome*. By this *rule* they [illegible] what their *friends* are able to doe for the *Presbyterian cause* [illegible]

Lastly, since most men *un-interested* that way are of a [illegible] I wish them to *consider*, that if by *striving against the streams*, they [illegible] *hold* now, it can never be recovered again upon the same [illegible] (perhaps) many *ages* will hardly afford the like; and therefore [illegible] shall proceed to *serve* themselves in by their *engineers* of the *Clergy* [illegible] *Lordly* already than the former) to the oppression of *Episcopal* [illegible] *dependent* consciences, and indeavour to found *Them* with an *Ant*[illegible] power, upon the *blood* of both *Countries*, by a *new war*, the [illegible] *Antipathie* must needs *revive*, and be reared again (like [illegible] a perpetuall *Barr* betwixt the *Nations*.

From whence I may conclude, the *case* thus standing; that the [illegible] *interest* of the *Scots* is, to preserve themselves in the *opinion* of the [illegible] *England*, by a *moderate* and *faire* construction of the *Covenant*, [illegible] of a *Presbyterie*; which being by *Covenant* to be judged, *according* [illegible] *word of God*, they have the lesse reason to stand for their owne [illegible] because they take *title* besides the bare *name* of *Presbyterie* out of the [illegible] and so having no *pretence* to found a *quarrel*, but only upon some [illegible] the *letter* of the *Covenant*, I see no reason they have to be angry, if [illegible] give them leave to inlay their owne in peace at home, and in the [illegible] time take leave to settle things here, for the good of this *Scots* in [illegible] *Government*, as they judge [illegible] (according to [illegible] upon [illegible] of *Covenant* [illegible] being laid by [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] FINIS.

* Lequor ad sensum vagi.

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